

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02448 082117Z

70

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 AID-05 EB-07 /094 W

----- 047375

R 081100Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4469

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 2448

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK

SUBJECT: BHUTTO EXTENDS CONCEPT OF BILATERALISM

1. PRIME MINISTER'S MARCH 6 SPEECH HERE ON FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN HIGHLIGHTED IN PRESS, WHICH HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN ADVISED THAT IT CONSTITUTES A MAJOR STATEMENT MODIFYING EXISTING CONCEPT OF BHUTTO'S APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

2. SPEAKING EXTEMPORANEOUSLY IN PRESENCE SENIOR MFA AND OTHER GOP OFFICIALS AND SEVERAL AMBASSADORS, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR BYROADE, AT BANQUET HONORING VISITING PRINCE KARIM AGA KHAN, BHUTTMREAFFIRMED THAT GOP POLICY HAS BEEN BASED SINCE 1971 ON BILATERALISM. HE DEFINED THIS AS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 02448 082117Z

HE HAS BEFORE AS DECIDING ISSUES ON MERITS, BEING IMPAR-

TIAL AND UNIVERSAL IN APPROACH, AND NOT GETTING ENTANGLED IN GREAT POWER CONFLICTS. BUT WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF PAKISTAN OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS, BHUTTO WENT ON, THIS CONCEPT SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE "A MINIMUM OF RECIPROCITY." "IF A STATE HAS A CONFLICT OF A FUNDAMENTAL NATURE WITH YOU, AS FOR INSTANCE, IT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE YOUR FRONTIERS, OR, IT DOES NOT ACCEPT BASIC INTERESTS OF PAKISTAN, YOU CANNOT SAY YOU HAVE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THAT COUNTRY", HE SAID. HE CALLED ON THE FOREIGN OFFICE TO TAKE THIS FACTOR INTO ACCOUNT.

3. SPEAKING FURTHER ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF PAKISTAN'S ENHANCED STRENGTH, BHUTTO RECALLED THE PERIOD WHEN THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN "THE VICTIM OF DIABOLICAL MANIPULATION OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES." THIS PHASE, HE SAID "IS GONE, AND WE CAN NOW SPEAK A LITTLE MORE LOUDLY, A LITTLE MORE FRANKLY -- NOT TOO LOUDLY, THAT TIME WILL ALSO COME -- TO EXPLAIN OUR POSITION AS WE GO FORWARD....."

4. AT CONCLUSION OF SPEECH, BHUTTO NOTED PRESENCE OF BANGLADESH AMBASSADOR -- THEY HAD BEEN CLOSETTED TOGETHER EARLIER IN THE EVENING -- AND SPOKE OF HIM IN WARM TERMS. ("HOW CAN I CALL HIM AN AMBASSADOR? HE IS A BROTHER IN ARMS. WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER...") CATCHING HIMSELF IN RHETORICAL MIDFLIGHT, PM WENT ON TO ACKNOWLEDGE PAKISTAN'S RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF BANGLADESH, BUT ALSO SPOKE OF "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US WHICH IS NORMAL AND WHICH IS NATURAL AND WHICH NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD SHOULD MISUNDERSTAND." HE PLEDGED PAK SOLIDARITY WITH BD AND ASSURED BANGLADESHIS THROUGH BD AMBASSADOR THAT PAKS WOULD STAND WITH THEM "AS WE HAVE ALWAYS STOOD TOGETHER IN OUR GLORIOUS STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE."

5. COMMENT: UNCERTAIN TO US AT THIS TIME WHAT PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE CONDUCT OF GOP FOREIGN POLICY BHUTTO'S NEW DEFINITION OF HIS FAMILIAR BILATERAL CONCEPT WILL HAVE. IMPRECISE AND SLIGHTLY DISQUIETING, IT APPEARS AT FACE VALUE TO BE DIRECTED PRIMARILY AT INDIANS AND AFGHANS, BUT OUR PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS AMONG MFA SENIOR

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 02448 082117Z

OFFICIALS SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM WHAT THE HEADLINES HERE CALL BHUTTO'S INSISTENCE ON "NO BILATERALISM WITHOUT RECIPROCITY." (BHUTTO MENTIONED NO FBTEIGN COUNTRY OTHER THAN BD IN SPEECH.) WE MAY BE GETTING CLEARER LINE IN NEXT FEW DAYS FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY, WHICH IS LIKELY ITSELF TO BE SEEKING TO FIGURE OUT WHAT ITS NEW MARCHING ORDERS MEAN.

6. WE DO NOT ATTACH ANY PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO BHUTTO'S PLANS TO PAK-BD RELATIONS. WE BELIEVE HIS RHETORIC REFLECTS AN EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TO THE PRESENCE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SUCH A SETTING OF THE BD AMBASSADOR RATHER THAN ANY SIGNAL ON HIS PART THAT PAKISTAN INTENDS SIGNIFICANTLY TO MODIFY THE MODERATE APPROACH IT HAS TAKEN (AT LEAST AFTER AUGUST 15) IN EVOLVING ITS NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH DACCA. BUT WE SUSPECT IT MAY BE READ SOMEWHAT DIFFERENTLY IN NEW DELHI.  
BYROADE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SPEECHES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 MAR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976ISLAMA02448  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760087-1117  
**From:** ISLAMABAD  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760385/aaaacwyx.tel  
**Line Count:** 126  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 MAY 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <31 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BHUTTO EXTENDS CONCEPT OF BILATERALISM  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PK, (BHUTTO, ALI)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006